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621 631 184 some parts of the country, and effective steps have been taken in very few areas to abolish village landlordism. On the other hand, with a view to reviving village self-government, some State governments are establishing village councils with recognized legal powers, the members of which are appointed by the government. Locus of power in the community is another criterion in respect of which Indian villages often present very different pictures.

369 621 184 Nearness to or isolation from large administrative or industrial centres also has a bearing on the nature of the organization of a village and of its view of the world. Availability of or nearness to modern means of transport and communications also modifies the setting and fabric of a village, and in its classification it is necessary to take into account these vital factors.

621 184 Lastly, village settlements are governed by certain traditions—regional and local. The dress, speech and manners, as well as the lay-out of the village and construction of the houses, follow the prescribed patterns of the culture-area. Thus in the different areas we can naturally look forward to a certain degree of diversity in village organization. But apart from these regional variations villages have a corporate unity, and each one possesses an individuality of its own. Some villages are regarded as 'peaceful', others as 'difficult'. Some have a reputation for generosity and fair play, while others are notorious for their meanness. Some are known for being 'upright and strict'; others are criticized for their laxity. Love of litigation is a characteristic feature of some villages; ostentation and display of others; while still others may be very sensitive about their good name. Again, co-operativeness or its absence may characterize some villages. These attributes and qualities may have their roots in strong local traditions or in a combination of factors working at a particular time. But they do give a distinctive character to the village, and a study of the social ways, processes and motivations in such villages will not be without considerable sociological and psychological interest.

In view of the operation of factors delineated above, it is difficult to regard any one village as typical or representative of rural India as a whole. In fact, I would go a step further to say that such a village could hardly be regarded as representative even of its culture-area, except in a very general way. The problem before the social anthropologist and the sociologist is therefore a complex one, and what we need to-day is a series of studies of village com-

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other factors, particularly her caste, landownership and wealth, age, distinctive personality traits, and relationship to persons holding a government or village office. But within the same caste, income-group and age-group, the position of a woman will definitely be inferior to that of a man.

Education is now regarded as important, because it provides 'the key to' the understanding of the 'wide world' and equips one better to assert one's rights and claim one's due from officials and the cunning townspeople. It is easier for educated people to get government jobs. It is generally believed that they can contact and influence government officers much better than their illiterate counterparts in the village. However, most of the 'educated' people in the village had just four years of schooling in village schools. No one has so far had any higher education. At the time of our investigations four boys from the village were studying in secondary schools in the city, and they are the first people in the village to learn the English language. Economic benefits and gain in social prestige derived through modern education have made it a mark of respectability, and it is expected that in the near future a larger number of village boys will attend secondary schools in Secundrabad and Hyderabad.

Although there is considerable prejudice and scepticism among the village people regarding city ways and other urban traits of culture, in general it may be said that the village-folk acknowledge the importance and superiority of the townspeople. Those who have urban contacts seek to distinguish themselves from the ordinary village folk in their dress, manner of speech, food and recreations. Imitation of urban ways in the last decade and a half has come to be recognized as a distinguishing feature of respectable elements of the village population.

Introduction of democratic government in Hyderabad after the Police Action, has brought about a sudden burst of activity by a multitude of political parties in the rural areas of the State. Politics and elections appear to the people to be a sort of game, and they have not yet realized their deeper and wider implications. Affiliation with political parties provides an outlet to those who are ambitious and seek recognition of their importance.

Social status conferred on an individual by the caste system must be classified as 'ascribed status'. It is still a vital factor of status differentiation in the community, but the other factors leave

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villagers are simple, superstitious and stupid. They believe anyone. Conditions in the village will never improve so long as they dominate the scene.' 'Without education a man is like a beast.' 'As you goad a bullock, you can goad an uneducated villager.' 'Why do petty government officers harass us so much? Only because we are illiterate.'

It may be pointed out here that so far the educated section consists only of people who have attended primary or secondary village schools for four to six years. The number of these people does not exceed eighty, and from among them also many have virtually relapsed into illiteracy. With the exception of some government officials who are not a permanent part of the village population, none has so far had the advantage of modern scientific education in one of the better schools of the city, although at the time of our investigations some half a dozen boys from the village were attending higher schools. It is interesting to note that persons having education in rural vernacular schools have the same fear, suspicion and general sentiments regarding those who have modern or 'English education', as the illiterate section of the population has about those who have a background of village education. Notwithstanding the popular prejudice against education of both types, its economic advantages as well as prestige value are now generally recognized. With the gradual improvement in the standards and practices of the schools more parents are now anxious to enrol their children there. Fears still persist, however, and people urge that, besides imparting literacy, the school should also equip them better for earning their livelihood.

[555]

URBAN VERSUS RURAL

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The general pattern of comment regarding urban and urbanized people is the same as that of the comment of the uneducated about the educated. In the context of urbanization, or even in that of the adoption of some urban traits, supplementary opinions are often added. 'We villagers are simple-hearted; but the town people are crafty, calculating and self-centred.' 'When the relations from the city come to stay with us we receive them well, and give them the choicest share in everything. But when we happen to go to them they have difficulty even in recognizing us. And they treat us as if we were an unwelcome burden on them.' 'Never trust a town-dweller, for he never distinguishes between

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truth and untruth. He is sweet when he wants us to do something for him; and coarse when the work is over.' 'The ways of city people are strange. They will go to bed even with their cousins and aunts.' 'The villager who has lived in the city for some years learns all the ways of the townspeople. He may be an insignificant menial in the city, but when he returns to the village he behaves like a big lord.'

The people with urban contacts, on the other hand, regard the village-folk as rustic and crude; and consider themselves more forward and civilized. They have an unmistakable tendency to look down upon 'these simple and uncomprehending people', make fun of their ways and occasionally exploit them by exerting undue pressure. 'These people are timid and foolish. They are afraid of anyone who can make some show of authority, and yield very easily to the pressure of officials', said a village youth when he was asked to give his opinion about his fellow villagers, who had not had the benefit of contacts with city ways.

Those who have some urban contacts are gradually coming to the fore in village leadership. They are often criticized and commented upon, but nevertheless their opinions are valued and in general the community looks to them for guidance in all situations 'where it has to face the outside world'.

2. CHILDHOOD, YOUTH AND OLD AGE

This section is devoted to a brief study of the three most significant stages of life—childhood, youth and old age. While family, kin-group and caste are important units of social structure which influence the course of an individual's life-cycle, from the point of view of socialization and social control the significance of the village as a unit cannot be minimized. Apart from the family and the caste, people spend most of their time in their respective age-groups, and through this process of growing-up together, common play and participation in youth activity the people tend to have a common value—orientation and certain common basic attitudes towards life.

For the first two or three months of a child's life the mother remains almost in sole charge of it. A young mother is invariably instructed in the technique of mothercraft by an elderly female relative, but at this stage it is her responsibility to look after the

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127 In some respects the factors of social change operating at these two stages and the resultant trends are complementary, while in others they stand out in marked contrast. It will be useful first to analyse the changes that came about in the life and ways of the people in the last fifty years of the feudal period, and then to follow it up by an examination of some of the more recent changes brought about by the Police Action.

It is difficult to present a systematic account of the different stages of the slow and gradual transition of the village from its pre- and early-Jagir days to the conditions that it presented in the later part of the feudal period. Any attempt to do so would necessitate placing excessive reliance on oral tradition about the near past. In order to be able to compare the conditions in the two periods and to determine the main lines of variation, reconstruction of a picture of the first stage is necessary. This could be done on the basis of:

(*a*) Factual information regarding comparable, but remote villages of the region, which because of their comparative isolation and lack of urban contacts present to-day, in a broad sense, conditions that Shamirpet would have presented in the pre- and early-Jagir period. Cautious and limited use of this method of translating space into time is useful in providing us with a starting point.

(*b*) Oral traditions and memories of the people, in so far as they do not concern themes pertaining to family glory and personal pride, or those involving subjective idealization.

(*c*) Fragmentary evidence from documentary and historical sources reflecting conditions of life and living in that period. Police, revenue and other semi-legal records obtainable have been used in this connection.

The contrasting picture of the village representing the last phase of the feudal period can be drawn from actual ethnographic observation and record.

178 The major factors which influenced the course of developments
369 in the village have been mentioned earlier. However, they need some further elaboration. In the pre- and early-Jagir period the contacts between the village people and State administration were on a very limited scale, and were confined mostly to payment of land revenue and settlement of land disputes. Occasionally, criminal offences and civil suits of a serious nature were tried in

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the law courts in the city. Now and then State officials visited the village on tour. In the second half of the Jagir period these administrative contacts increased very considerably. At the same time the urban contacts of a section of the village population also grew gradually. These included visiting relations and friends in the city, receiving relations and friends from the city, occasional excursions for shopping in the large city stores and markets as well as for sight-seeing, temporary stay of a short or long duration for work in the city, and finally being in everyday touch with officials resident in the village, who were regarded as an urban element in the village population. Increased contacts with the towns and cities were greatly facilitated by the construction of the metalled road joining Hyderabad with the district headquarters of Karimnagar in the interior of the State. This road touches Shamirpet. With the introduction of bicycles and buses frequent and regular contacts with the urban areas were made possible. The progress of education has been rather slow. In the early-Jagir days only a few children belonging to the higher castes, and also to the upper level families, received any schooling. Even this was confined to a bare acquaintance with three R's. With the opening of a school in the village education was placed within the reach of a much larger section and even some untouchable children started attending the school. Some ambitious parents sent their children to the higher schools in the city where they could learn English. Books, periodicals and newspapers which occasionally found their way into the village conveyed to the people 'strange truths regarding the wide world through the medium of the printed word'. The State administration initiated some of its welfare and nation-building activities in the countryside. Agriculture, Veterinary and Animal Husbandry, Medical and Public Health, and Co-operation and Rural Development departments of the State started functioning in the rural areas. Their representatives and propagandists brought some new ideas and techniques to the village. The villagers saw their demonstrations, heard their talks, and were at times even coaxed into doing things in the new ways. This was indeed novel to them. In the earlier period government had only collected land revenue, heard some of their disputes, tried cases arising out of breaches of law, and occasionally forced them to provide practically free labour and 'presents' for touring government officials, but had never interfered with their agricultural

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THE CHANGING SCENE

In the organization of the family the changed conditions and changing attitudes of the people have brought about some significant variations. It is difficult to present it statistically, but it could generally be said that in recent years the cohesion of the family has suffered on account of the growth of the spirit of individualism. Thereby family solidarity has been adversely affected. The people no longer have the same attachment for the soil of their settlement, and consequently mobility has increased. Among the younger people, especially among those who have had some education or urban contacts, the desire to go to the city is manifesting itself on an increasing scale. In making records of the biographies and general attitudes of the people, the contrast in the attitudes of the two steps of people emerged clearly. While the elderly and the middle-aged, mostly illiterate, complained about the inconveniences of village life, they still regarded it as the only way of life possible for *them*. On the other hand, the younger people seemed to idealize the city and its numerous attractions, and made no effort to conceal their contempt for the rustic ways of the village-folk. This change in attitudes and preferences has on the one hand encouraged migration to cities of young people who take up the small jobs there; and on the other it has generated disharmony and dissensions within the family causing considerable dislocation in the established principles according to which priorities and concessions went with age and kinship status. Service in the army, and city restaurants and the influence of the cinema tend to accentuate all this, but so far the number of young men with these tendencies is not more than 10% or 15% of the total in their age-group.

The caste system in the community presents only slight variations in some directions. As before, caste still retains its endogamous character. Similarly, caste continues to be a part of, and is sanctioned by, the traditional religion. However, its occupational character has undergone some change. People are now taking to new occupations. A goldsmith has opened a tea shop. Washermen and similar other castes are accepting menial jobs in the city. These are not their traditional occupations. Besides Muslims some non-Komti Hindus have set up general shops in the village; in the traditional system only Komtis could do so. Thus people are either giving up their traditional occupations, or they are taking to occupations which by tradition belong to some other castes.

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not without hesitation, misgivings, doubts and an initial resistance. The unfortunate class of people who are semi-rural and semi-urbanized find themselves rejected by both sides: they are held suspect by their fellow-villagers as demeaned by urban associations, and are looked down upon by their urban associates for their rustic ways. Petty government servants and town-returned village-folk are not expressly recognized as leaders of the community, but all the same they set the wheels of the community in motion in the direction of social change. It is through this class of people that urban items of regional culture, and several items of the national and Western cultures are brought into the community and hesitatingly absorbed into its life. Their selection or rejection naturally depends upon their need, utility, prestige-value and conformity with or opposition to the prevailing set of values in the community.

The village people have always idealized their traditional life-ways, and have shown unmistakable suspicion for those of the city, but have generally followed the lead of the élite, which formed the dominant social group, though sometimes with their own modifications and adaptations. The gradual adoption of Sanskritic ritual by the rural communities was the first major triumph of this group in the past. The process still continues, but now 'progressive' and 'modern' elements are gradually filtering in through the semi-urbanized village-folk.

To conclude, a few remarks may be made about the influence of these new trends on the ethos and world-view of the people.

The episodic, topical and complete life-histories recorded in the course of our investigations, supplemented by observation and records of conflicts and co-operative activities in Shamirpet, provide the material for these observations on the villagers' world-view. It is necessary to point out that so far no depth-psychology studies have been done in this area nor has there been any systematic attempt to study the cultural aspects of personality. In the absence of such studies, only an outline of the dominant attitudes and goals which are characteristic of the society can be attempted. In this context, following John Gillin, 'Ethos is taken to mean the constellation of acquired drives or motivations which are characteristic of a culture, plus the goals which are both explicit and implicit, towards which

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zone of the Orissa Hills. There are small deposits of lead (Nalgonda), copper and mica (Raichur), and graphite (Warangal), while the Ceded Districts have non-ferrous metals (manganese, antimony), corundum, and barytes; but most of the minerals here are associated with the bordering ranges to the E, and in any case are almost untouched. Golconda diamonds belong to history—and legend—rather than to modern economy. The forest resources around the Godavari are not very accessible, though it would seem that more use might be made of the river itself as an outlet, and power might be available from the rapids where it crosses the En Hills.

Population densities are not high—**170–200** in the Ceded Dts, **160–220** in Hyderabad. Villages are essentially tied to waterpoints, often in association with tanks, and generally built of mud or stone set in mud, with thatched roofs.[28]

Apart from Hyderabad City, towns are few and small. Warangal (**133,130**) is the largest, and of merely local importance; Bellary (56,148) is an important railway town and has small sugar and vanaspati (vegetable ghee) mills. Otherwise, except for cotton ginning and so on, industrial development is negligible: in 1949 Hyderabad had only 60,000 factory workers (probably mostly in the capital), 26,000 miners, 22,000 railwaymen.

Hyderabad (**1,085,722**) was in 1941 the fourth Indian city; it has since been outstripped by Delhi (Old and New together). Founded in 1589 by the Muslim king of Golconda, it was the capital of the Mogul Viceroyalty of the Deccan and of the independent state which arose on the Mogul ruins; old Golconda, an impressive hill-fortress, lies 5 miles to the W. The significance of Hyderabad is essentially administrative and cultural, as is evidenced by the high proportions of Urdu and Tamil speakers; the former represent the semi-feudal class dominant in the state until 1948, the latter the clerkly bureaucracy. The city is close-packed, mostly unplanned, with palaces perhaps more remarkable for size than beauty, surrounded by vast tanks. Most notable of modern buildings is perhaps the fine Osmania University. Six miles to the N is the enormous cantonment of Secunderabad, designed to afford protection to Our Faithful Ally the Nizam, and perhaps not less to ensure his continued faithfulness—a precaution not unwarranted in the stirring and in all senses intriguing days when the rising British power was at grips with the Marathas and the Mysore of Haidar Ali and Tipu, and when French influence was not altogether dead in the Deccan.

Telangana: Aspect and Prospect

Hyderabad, with its 82,313 sq mls and **18,655,108** people, its own internal posts (with yellow pillar-boxes), its integration of road services with the Nizam's State Railway, and with a reasonably good administration, was a

[28] W. Burns (ed.), *Sons of the Soil* (1941), 5.

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135 The mineral wealth of the region is probably considerable in the aggregate, but scattered and not very accessible. It includes unworked copper and antimony; in asbestos and barytes the region produces practically all India's output, but the amounts are only *c.* 1200 cwt. and 1800 tons p.a. ● 369 respectively. Cuddapah, with a little industry, is the only town of any 631 significance; or was until the selection in 1953 of Kurnool on the Tungabhadra for the capital of the new Andhra State, to consist of the Ceded Districts and the Northern Circars. This selection, against the claims of say Bezwada (below, 691) makes sense only if it is intended eventually to bring in the Telugu portions of Hyderabad. Kurnool has only about 13,000 people; it is perhaps significant that strong opposition came from the left-wing parties. The motivation was perhaps a desire to give the Ceded Districts some token that they would not be neglected.

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161 12 m.; densities increase from Ganjam (420) to E Godavari (714) and then decrease to Guntur (393); beyond the regional limits Nellore, with more Archaean terrain than the central parts of the Circars, and less (and less reliable and well distributed) rain than the Nn, had only 204. On the whole it seems best to treat Ganjam/Vizagapatam and the deltas separately.

(a) *The North*: *Ganjam and Vizagapatam* (*Vizakhapatnam*)

[132] Essentially this is the area with over 40 ins.: the three Sn taluks of
133 Vizagapatam fall a little short of this. The lowland narrows to 12 miles under Mahendragiri, but on either side of this gate are the embayments of the Rushikulya (Ganjam) and the Languliya and Vansadhara (Vizag) valleys. The plains are floored by red lateritic soils near the hills, shading off into black loams and clays; but they are cut up by numerous irregular outliers of the En Hills: thus Vizagapatam itself lies between the 1600-ft Kailana Ridge to the N and the 1100-ft Yaroda to the S; the latter runs out to sea in the bold cliffs (300 ft) of Dolphin's Nose which shelters the port, while in the Nn suburbs of the town are the peculiar Waltair Highlands, *c.* 150 ft high and formed largely by the accumulation, since the Pleistocene, of red loams partly fluviatile and partly perhaps aeolian.[3]

311 Of a TSA of some 4 m. ac., rice accounts for about 1·65 m. ac., ragi
312 390,000, oilseeds (chiefly groundnut) 500,000, the balance being widely
241 distributed amongst millets and pulses mainly. Irrigation is on the whole unimportant, much of it being dependent on temporary mud-and-brush-wood dams across the short rivers.

135 Mineral resources are few—graphite, manganese, kaolin, mica—and hardly developed; a potential resource of some interest in this atomic age, though limited in amount in comparison with other *Indian* occurrences, is the ilmenite and monazite in the dunes and beaches around Vizagapatam.[4]
471 Industrial development—with the important exception of the Vizag shipyards—is again negligible: two or three jute and sugar mills in the Vizagapatam plains. Hydro-electric development in the hills might alter this.

369 Again there is only one real town, 'Vizag' itself (108,042), which has
[504] developed considerably since the opening of the railway up the Languliya
316 valley to Raipur and the subsequent dredging of a deep-water harbour in the tidal marshes. The accommodation at quayside is limited, but it is more up-to-date than at most E coast ports. The selection of Vizag as the main shipbuilding centre of *India* is presumably because of its situation as the nearest *ocean* port to Jamshedpur, but it is still a long way round. Ships up
[439] to 8000 tons have been launched. The hinterland extends to Nagpur and the chief trade is in Madhya Pradesh (CP) manganese, and oilseeds and
504 their products. The small ports of Bimlipatam and Gopalpur are quite

[3] See the very original paper by C. Mahadevan and N. Sathapathi, "The Origin of the Waltair Highlands", *IGJ* XXIV (1949), 26–51.

[4] *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*, 29.

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For the purely delta taluks, of course, the rice proportion would be higher. Tobacco covers some 200,000 ac. in all, the best being grown on temporary sand-islands in the larger streams. Some sugar is grown, but this tall and long-standing crop must be protected from cyclones by expensive fencing with bamboos.

Again mineral potentialities are slight and development slighter. There are two tiny unworked coalfields, of dubious value, in the Gondwanas along the Godavari; graphite and kaolin are worked in a small way, mainly for Rajahmundry paper mills (which use paddy straw as well as bamboo from the hills) and for the small crucible industry at the same town. Salt evaporation at Cocanada might lead to a chemical industry. Industry itself, though very small-scale, is interesting; as well as the Rajahmundry works just mentioned, and the rice and tobacco trades to be expected, there are cement, silk, fruit canning, and vegetable ghee works. Most of these are congregated along the Kistna below Bezwada and between Rajahmundry and Cocanada. Varied as it is, the total is not impressive: the crucible industry has 150 skilled workers, the paper mill a capacity of 3000 tons p.a.; the 77 rice mills in E Godavari employ only 1800 workers, the three silk factories 122; and the total industrial population of this District is only 7200—0·39% of total population, and at that not much below the figure for Madras State (0·42%). Such as it is, this industrial development has yet led to an ominous, if incipient, competition for land in a few tracts between tobacco and paddy; fortunately the region, except for Guntur, has a sizeable rice surplus (about 400,000 tons less 110,000 tons deficit in Guntur); and counting all foodgrains Guntur also has a surplus.[1]

The industrial, and to some extent the agricultural, future of the region will depend on whether or not the great Ramapadasagar multi-purpose scheme is executed; at present financial difficulties stand in the way. The proposed dam, 428 ft high with foundations 190 ft below the river bed, and 1½ miles long, would impound 15·6 m. ac.-ft of water, irrigate for paddy some 2·35 m. ac. of un- or under-developed land, improve the supply to 2 m. ac. already irrigated, and develop at least 100,000 kW; it might also, and less beneficially, trap the silt.

There are a fair number of minor towns. The site-significances of Bezwada (161,198) and Rajahmundry (105,276) are plain; Guntur (125,255) and Ellore (64,911) are trading centres with a little industry. The ports of Cocanada (75,140) and Masulipatam (59,146) are of little use. At Masulipatam large ships must lie 5 miles offshore (weather permitting!) and the half-dozen wharves are three miles up a winding creek; yet in early European days it was a place of great importance, famous for carpets and

[1] This discussion is based on (i) Dr. V. L. S. P. Rao's interesting summary of his doctoral dissertation, "Industrial Problems, Development, and Planning [in] . . . the Lower Godavari Region" (*IGJ* XXIII (1948), 1–15); (ii) V. V. Ramanadham and V. L. S. P. Rao, *Economic Atlas of Andhra Desa* (Calcutta, 1949).

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chintzes. The opening of the coastal railway completed the ruin of the cyclone of 1864; yet it is still generally known as Bandar ('the port'). Cocanada is rather better, with many more wharves and jetties; but again the anchorage is 5–6 miles offshore. The ports might—at large expense—be developed as outlets for En Hyderabad, should that backward area itself be developed; but obviously the actively prograding deltas impose severe difficulties on any reconstruction; at Cocanada constant dredging is necessary to keep a depth of 4–6 ft (LWOST) on the bar. In the great days of the coolie traffic, before the depression and the Indo-Burmese race-riots of the 1930s, Cocanada had an enormous migrant turnover.

(c) *Nellore*

The traditional Sn boundary of the Telugu country lies along the Tirupatti escarpment, overlooking the Renigunta basin; beyond is Tamilnad, a country, almost a nation, on its own. The transition is reflected in the increasing importance of tank-irrigation, though this will be changed if the Penner is ever fully utilised. Physically also the transition is marked by patches of marine Jurassics and the coastal belt of sub-recent Cuddalore sandstones; both become more important in the Madras coastal plain (Fig. 141).

Most of Nellore is poor country: low peneplains of Archaean gneisses and schists, stony or lateritic and largely covered with scrub. Even allowing for the large part of the District in the Velikondas, agriculture is severely limited. The coast is fringed by a belt of alluvium 2–14 miles wide, between low-level laterites and the blown sand of the shore. The most interesting coastal feature is the great salt-water lagoon of Pulicat; the islands of the lagoon are used for burning lime from the great shell-banks (this is a main source of *chunam* plaster for Madras building) and salt smuggling is or was important.

The Penner and its associated tanks (Fig. 138) are already important for irrigation, and will be more so when the old scheme for an anicut at the Someswaram watergap through the Velikondas is carried out.

Away from the Cuddapah Ranges (above, pp. 678–82), the only mineral wealth consists of laterite, building-stones, the coastal salt and shell-lime, and mica from the Archaean schists: output of mica is about 11,000 tons p.a., rather under 10% of *Indian* production. Nellore (56,315) is almost entirely administrative and commercial; it has a little pottery, but other industrial development is practically absent.

The Circars form the nucleus of the new Andhra State which nevertheless is to be administered from distant Kurnool. This is the first experiment in "linguistic states", and it can hardly be said that its geographical foundations are very sound or imposing (cf. 126, 675, 682).